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ABSTRACT

An in-progress research project evaluating the first phase of two-year bilingual exchange programs is described. The exchange programs being evaluated are a summer exchange between groups of school children from schools in Quebec and Ontario and a school-year exchange between groups of children from schools in the same provinces. The objectives of both exchanges are increased proficiency in the second language and improved understanding of the other cultural group. The first phase of the study is concerned with: (1) the development of appropriate procedures for evaluation, and (2) the collection of initial information on language achievement and cultural and attitudinal changes among the anglophone and francophone participants. The evaluation procedures include pencil and paper tests, a language proficiency interview, questionnaires, and general interviews. Two noteworthy findings are: (1) in spite of the short duration of the exchanges, there is noticeable improvement in language proficiency; and (2) unless prompted by a questionnaire or attitude test, students reject the conventional attitudinal stereotypes. They tended instead to report their experiences in terms of specific people, activities or events. (Author/PMJ)

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EVALUATING SUMMER BILINGUAL EXCHANGES:
a Progress Report

Gila Hanna and Anthony H. Smith

The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

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I INTRODUCTION

This article describes an in-process research project. It reports on the first phase of a two-year evaluation of bilingual exchange programs operating under the Bilingual Exchange Secretariat. Two exchange programs are being evaluated: a summer exchange between groups of school children from selected school boards in Quebec and Ontario, and a school-year exchange between groups of children from selected schools in the same provinces. The objectives of both the summer and the school-year exchange are increased proficiency in the second language and improved understanding of the other cultural group. This article deals only with the evaluation of the summer exchange, and reports on the first year of research.

The four-week summer exchange takes place in July. Each student stays at home for two weeks and in the home of his or her "twin" for two weeks. The participants are selected on the basis of applications from individual students, and are then matched in pairs by the program co-ordinators prior to the exchange on the basis of age, sex and similarity of interests.

A teacher is hired as co-ordinator by each participating board, and an additional teacher and two monitors (usually university students) are also hired to assist the co-ordinator; their salaries are paid by the Exchange Secretariat. These four adults assume all responsibility for their segment of the exchange program. They select the 22 juniors (ages 12-14) and 22 seniors (ages 14-17) from among the applicants from their board and both plan and carry out a two-week program of activities. They are personally twinned with teachers and co-ordinators from the twinned board in the other province.

Fourteen boards took part in the 1978 summer exchange, for a total of 616 student participants from each of the two provinces.

The summer exchange is longer and more structured than the school-year exchange, and thus is more likely to have a measurable impact on language abilities and attitudes. The school-year exchanges are also intimately connected with school, and as a consequence it is virtually impossible to separate the effects of these exchanges from the effects of the school experiences in which they are imbedded. For these

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reasons our research plan stressed a careful study of the summer exchange and allocated the greater part of our resources to measurement of its outcomes.

The evaluation of the summer exchange is being conducted in two stages. The first stage, a year's research, was concerned with the development of appropriate procedures and with the collection of initial data. These data are reasonably comprehensive in one major area, the effects of the exchange on language competence, while in the others, effects on attitudes and exchange "process", research to date has centred on evaluating and comparing the usefulness of a variety of information-gathering techniques.

The findings to date concerning the summer exchanges are summarized in more detail below under two main headings. The first section on language outcomes deals not only with findings but with the procedures used to investigate the impact of the exchange on language learning. The second section on attitudes discusses the problems associated with measuring attitudinal impact, and suggests tentative findings.

The research described in each section has a consistent methodological emphasis: "in depth" information is sought to supplement more conventional pencil-and-paper research techniques, and, wherever possible, multiple techniques are used to gather the same kinds of information. The use of at least one face-to-face interview in each of the topic areas provides rich and subtle material. The use of multiple techniques permits both comparison of information from different instruments, and comparisons of the usefulness of the information-gathering procedures themselves.

Among the tentative findings at this stage of the enquiry, two are particularly noteworthy: (1) in spite of the short duration of the exchanges, a language-proficiency interview records noticeable improvement; (2) unless prompted by a questionnaire or attitude test, students reject the conventional attitudinal stereotypes about English or French Canadians, tending instead to report their experiences in terms of specific people, activities, or events.

II LANGUAGE OUTCOMES

II.1. Selecting Language Instruments

At the outset of this project we expected that changes in second-language competence occurring during the exchange might be difficult to detect. First, though the exchange involves a two-week submersion in the second-language setting, two weeks is not a long time. Nor is the submersion complete; the students take part daily in organized activities in groups of 22 anglophones and 22 francophones, and thus continue to have some access to their first language. A second

consideration involves the very nature of the exchange. It is organized to promote functional rather than formal language learning and provides a setting in which 'natural' learning opportunities occur. The formal language teaching is limited to a daily session of 30 to 45 minutes.

Given the short duration of the exchange and the lack of total submersion, large language gains were considered unlikely and changes were expected to be subtle. A participant's ability to display correct syntax might not change at all, for example, while fluency or listening comprehension might increase markedly. Accordingly we chose instruments which emphasize oral proficiency, the language skill most likely to change as a result of functional language learning.

Finding a suitable measure of oral proficiency was not easy. There was no guarantee that any increase in speaking proficiency consequent upon a summer exchange, outside the school setting, would be translated into a gain on a paper-and-pencil test. Direct evaluation of spoken language, on the other hand, requires a listener and hence face-to-face contact between recorder and speaker. Relatively expensive research procedures thus seemed to be implied.

A second, related problem involved heterogeneity in the initial second-language competence of the exchange participants. The students who take part in the summer exchanges were drawn from different grade levels, schools and boards. Their second-language experiences were likewise varied. In Ontario, where the greatest diversity exists, some students had been in Immersion programs (subjects taught in French 50 per cent or more of the time), some in Extended French (French taught as a single subject, plus one other subject taught in French), and some in regular French programs (French taught as a single subject); others had experienced some combination of the three programs. The participants had received anywhere from one to ten years of instruction in French as a second language. To further complicate matters, some students came from bilingual homes.

The need to measure oral proficiency, the heterogeneous composition of the group, and the limited time available for testing led us to select three language-evaluation instruments. These were a Language Proficiency Interview, a second-language Listening Comprehension Test, and a Sentence Completion Test. Each is described in more detail below. Of the three tests, the Language Proficiency Interview, though not ideal, seemed most suitable for assessing oral proficiency. Its main disadvantage was high cost. The other two tests chosen involved written responses and were included to provide comparisons with the interview results.

II.2. Language Proficiency Interviews: Procedures

The test we considered most appropriate for the assessment of oral proficiency was the Oral Interview Test, originally developed in

the United States in 1956 by the Foreign Service Institute (FSI). This test has since been employed by Educational Testing Service (ETS) of Princeton as well, and the rating scale has undergone some modification. The present scale, in use since 1968, consists of a weighted scoring system based on the following areas of proficiency: accent, grammatical accuracy, vocabulary, fluency and listening comprehension. (Jones & Spolsky, 1975; Clark, ed., 1978.)

In Canada, this face-to-face interview has been administered to New Brunswick high school students since 1976. In each of the years 1976, 1977, 1978, about 50 New Brunswick high schools (75% of the schools in the province) participated in the testing in both English and French as second languages. The tests have been administered to approximately 10,000 students in grades 11-12 (ages 16-17) during 1976, 1977 and 1978.

The tests in New Brunswick were conducted by about 100 second-language teachers who had been trained in interviewing by ETS. Four of these testers conducted our interviews.

Throughout the interview the tester is in control, changing the subject as required to probe additional areas of linguistic competence. The tester keeps in mind that linguistic competence is to be measured, rather than intellectual ability. Even questions aimed at provoking a complex response will focus on the world of the student: family, the exchange program, favourite sport, books read, movies seen, opinions on various subjects.

The choice of familiar subjects also reduces or eliminates test anxiety; after a few moments the students seem to feel that they are simply having a friendly conversation with the interviewer, and appear quite relaxed. They also feel that they have done well. Popular topics in interviews for this evaluation were the movie "Grease", discoroule, the exchange, the twin, bilingualism, and science fiction.

No itemized scoring procedure is employed. Instead an overall judgment is made, assigning the interviewee to one of five major levels of proficiency. Each level has a verbal description and these are summarized below.

Level 1: Able to satisfy travel needs and minimum courtesy requirements.

Level 2: Able to meet basic social demands and to satisfy simple needs related to school and work.

Level 3: Able to speak the language with sufficient structural accuracy and vocabulary to participate effectively in most formal and informal conversations on practical and social topics.

Level 4: Able to use the language fluently and accurately on all levels normally pertinent to the needs of all formal and informal conversations on practical, social, and work-related topics.

Level 5: Speaking proficiency equivalent to that of an educated native speaker.

Pluses are used to extend the number of scale intervals to eleven. Our results are reported in terms of these eleven categories.

The procedure is highly reliable when conducted by experienced interviewers. According to C. Wilds, "independent judgments on taped tests rarely vary more than a half point (i.e. a plus) from the assigned rating." (Jones & Spolsky, 1975, p. 35.) All those who conducted our evaluation interviews were experienced testers who have participated in the yearly recalibration sessions of the New Brunswick oral competency testing program.

Fifty students from Ontario and fifty from Quebec were interviewed. Cost considerations and problems of organization dictated that we administer the test only to students from selected boards, rather than to a random sample. Three boards were selected from each of Ontario and Quebec. The seniors from two boards and the juniors from one board in each province were tested. More seniors were chosen because of reservations expressed by the testers about the suitability of the test for juniors.

Each student was interviewed twice; once one day prior to the exchange, and once at the end. The two interviews were conducted by different testers whenever possible, and the second interview was conducted "blind"; that is, without the tester having the result of the first interview.

II.3. Language Proficiency Interviews: Results and Discussion

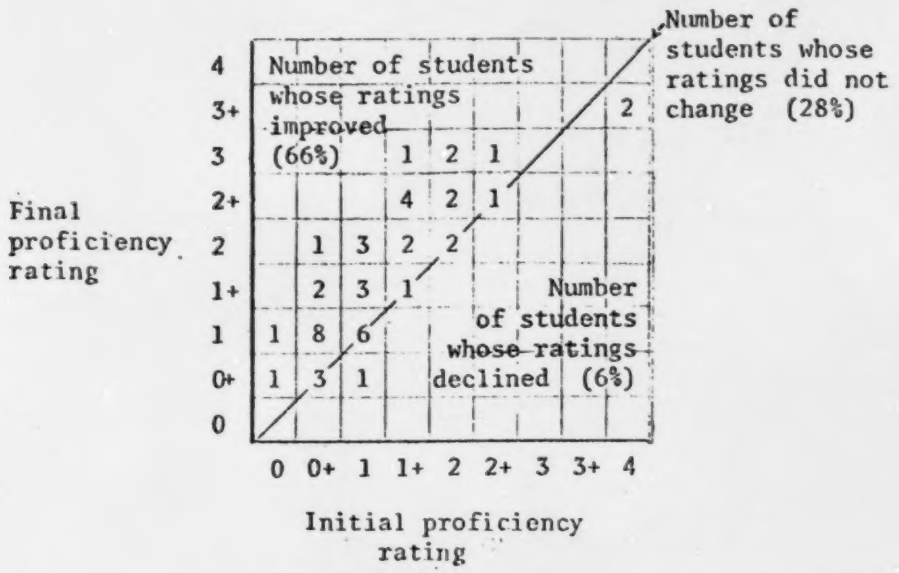
As shown in figure 1, 66% of the francophone students increased their level of speaking proficiency, 36% by a half level (a "+"), 26% by a full level, and 4% by a level and a half.

[INSERT FIGURES 1 AND 2 ABOUT HERE]

As shown in figure 2, 47% of the anglophone students increased their level of speaking proficiency on the post-test, 27% by a half level, 13% by a full level, and 7% by a level and a half.

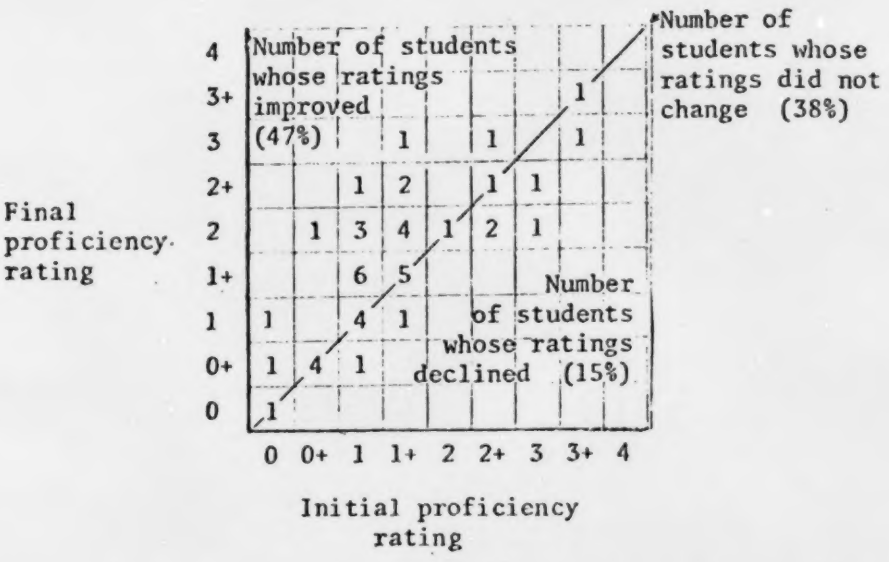
Most of the students who increased their speaking proficiency were initially below level 2; this is true for both English-speaking and French-speaking students. Thirty-seven of the 47 francophone students

Figure 1: Changes in the Rating of Speaking Proficiency
English as a Second Language



Based on two 20-minute interviews, an initial one just before the summer exchange and a final one on the last or next-to-last day. N=47

Figure 2: Changes in the Rating of Speaking Proficiency
French as a Second Language



Based on two 20-minute interviews, an initial one just before the summer exchange and a final one on the last or next-to-last day. N=45

were initially below level 2; 70% of these 37 did better on the post-test, as compared with 50% of those who were at level 2 or above. The influence of the initial level was more pronounced with the anglophone students, where 56% of the 36 students who were initially below level 2 increased their proficiency, as compared with only 10% of those who were at level 2 or above. In fact, all but one of the anglophone students who improved were initially below level 2.

The exchange appears at first sight to have offered relatively little opportunity for improvement to those of level 2 and above. Other interpretations are, however, possible. First, at the higher levels it may be more difficult to progress from one level to the next. Second, it is more difficult at the higher levels of proficiency to distinguish between adjacent levels on the basis of short interviews. The results at the higher levels (3 and above) are in this sense probably less reliable than those at the lower ones.

An analysis by type of school French program of those English-speaking students whose proficiency improved suggests that students who came from a regular French program benefitted the most from the exchange. Students from core programs made up 86% of those who improved, although they were only 73% of all those tested.

Looking at this somewhat differently, 54% of the students from core programs improved from pre-test, as against only 25% of those from immersion or extended programs. In explanation of this result it is reasonable to assume that students who have been exposed to an intensive French program such as immersion have fewer verbal skills to learn from a short exchange. A second factor must also be considered, however: the immersion students were at a much higher initial level. While all the core students were at or below the 1+ level, 75% of the immersion students were at the 2 level or above.

With the francophone students, no comparison between types of program is possible. Almost all these students were enrolled in programs which offered English as a second language 4-6 hours per week. At the same time, more francophones showed second-language gains than anglophones; 66% for francophones vs. 47% for anglophones. The greater frequency of second-language gains among francophones may thus reflect the fact that they are all drawn from these regular second-language instruction programs.

II.4. Listening Comprehension Test: Test de compréhension auditive

This test was developed in 1977 and revised in 1978 by the OISE Bilingual Education Project (BEP) for the purpose of measuring listening comprehension at the grade 6 level of early immersion programs. It has also been used successfully in the context of late partial-immersion programs in grades 8 through 13. To assess the usefulness of this test, we administered it to two grade 11 classes in a regular French program,

and found the level of difficulty to be appropriate for the seniors (ages 15-16) in the summer exchange.

Since no parallel test was available, the same test was used for both the pre-test and the post-test. We assumed that responses on the post-test would not be influenced by the memory of the pre-test, since there were four weeks of intense activity between the tests.

The scores of the thirty students (from two randomly selected boards) who took both the pre- and the post-tests were used to evaluate the effect of the exchange. The results showed a gain in the mean score of two points out of a possible score of 17, an increase of 12%. The difference between the mean scores on the two tests was shown to be statistically significant (using the t-test, $t=4.02$, $df=29$, $p<0.0001$). This indicates a small but quite measurable and important gain in this aspect of language use, and it appears to have been caused by the exchange experience.

II.5. Sentence Completion Test: IEA Tests

Although we did not expect the exchange to have a noticeable effect on writing skills, we did make an attempt to identify any improvement. For this purpose we administered the International Educational Achievement (IEA) French Writing Test, Population II to the juniors and Population IV to the seniors. For English as a second language one test was used for both juniors and seniors: Test d'expression écrite, Population IV. For each of these three tests, the fifteen even items were used as a pre-test and the fifteen odd items as a post-test.

Since the IEA tests proved extremely difficult for the anglophone students, whose scores ranged from 0 to 5 out of a maximum of 15 ($\bar{x} = 2.7$, s.d. = 2.8), and very easy for the francophone students, whose scores ranged from 7 to 14 out of a maximum of 15 ($\bar{x} = 9.5$, s.d. = 3.7), we concluded that these tests are not effective as measuring instruments in the context of our study.

II.6. Language Outcomes: Comment

In general, the results of both the Language Proficiency Interview and the Listening Comprehension Test suggest an improvement in functional language proficiency. Since the exchange is a "total" experience -- it absorbs the whole lives of the participants for four weeks -- and since our language testing immediately preceded and followed the exchange, there is little possibility that the language changes observed occurred because of factors other than the exchange.

Further, in our view, the gains measured probably underestimate the real gains which students experienced. Neither of the instruments used was ideally suited to measuring the kinds of language gains in listening proficiency and every-day conversation which likely occurred

as a result of the exchange. Neither the Listening Comprehension Test nor the Language Proficiency Interview exactly parallels the language experience of the Exchange. The Listening Comprehension Test involves understanding, but without dialogue with another person. It thus lacks many of the context clues to language meaning that characterize a real conversational setting. The Proficiency Interview was the most suitable instrument available, and involves face-to-face dialogue. It does, however, place greater emphasis on some of the formal characteristics of language than was desirable. When reading the results it should be borne in mind that the test is extremely demanding and for a student to improve even one step after a long period of study is a considerable achievement. The results indicated are therefore very encouraging.

III CULTURAL AND ATTITUDINAL OUTCOMES

III.1. Introduction: The Meaning of Cultural and Attitudinal Outcomes

The evaluation of the cultural and attitudinal impact of the exchanges on their participants is potentially a much broader area than the evaluation of language effects. The problems associated with measuring language changes are largely technical. They centre on deciding what changes are likely and which indicators are most suited to measuring them. While language is a complex phenomenon and the effects of a two-week exchange are potentially subtle and difficult to detect, the focus of the evaluation is at least readily identifiable. This is not so in the case of attitude changes.

In existing research on the attitudinal impact of exchange programs, the focus has been on changes in inter-group stereotyping. The questions investigated are thus "How do English Canadians view French Canadians and vice versa?" and "What changes occur as a result of an exchange?" The general framework within which these questions are cast addresses "understanding" between the two groups and the contribution of exchanges to it.

The propensity to define attitudinal evaluation in these terms is facilitated by the existence of instruments developed by Gardner which attempt to assess stereotyping. These are easily administered questionnaire items. They offer fixed-response categories and the resulting responses can be readily processed and subjected to statistical analysis. The present salience of the relationship between French and English Canada provides ample rationale for an evaluation of this type. The reporting of bilingual exchanges in the English-language press has tended to view the exchanges as promoting "unity" and to emphasize their contribution to destroying negative stereotypes or producing positive ones.[2] Research studies using the stereotype instruments have reported inconsistent findings (Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Gardner & Smythe, 1975; Clement, Gardner & Smythe, 1975; Cziko & Lambert, 1976; Hamers & Deshaies, 1977; Kormos, 1978).

A number of arguments suggested a broader approach to this problem in our research. First, it is exceedingly difficult to provide adequate conceptualization of the general issue of intergroup understanding. Measuring "understanding" is very difficult. Suppose for example that one Ontario student returns with the view that French Canadians "eat a lot", while another comments on their "warmth and hospitality". Which student can be said to have the greater understanding? Similarly, how do their "understandings" compare with that of the Quebec student who finds that English Canadians "talk less"?

It is, of course, possible to ask students if their understandings "improved". However, the subjective meaning of the stimulus word "understanding" to respondents is unclear. The question would likely have very different meanings for different individuals. Alternatively, it is possible to administer questionnaires which assess cultural stereotyping and by implication treat any movement from "negative" to "positive" as an "improved" understanding -- an unsubtle view of a complex problem. (One might just as plausibly interpret a movement from "positive" to "neutral" as "improved" understanding, since it is an indication of reduced willingness to stereotype.)

Besides the problematic nature of the framework within which attempts to evaluate intergroup understandings are cast, there is a second general problem area. To elicit a response from Exchange participants in which they provide generalized attitudes about the other language group, it is in most cases necessary to ask specific questions which encapsulate generalizations of the exact form that they elicit. This may involve fixed-response stimulus adjectives designating cultural stereotypes (e.g. warm-hearted) or open-ended questions of the type included in our questionnaire ("What do you think of French/English-speaking Canadians?"). Whichever way the question is presented, a request for a generalization about the group is embodied in the question. Indeed, what the questions demand is something which social scientists themselves avoid. The respondents are asked to take the specific and limited experiences of the Exchange and generalize them. That they do so is conceivably as much a consequence of the question as it is of some attitude or stereotype that they can be meaningfully said to "hold" or "believe".

It therefore seemed reasonable to approach the area of intergroup attitudes differently, to begin by asking, "Do the participants construe the meaning of the exchange in these terms?" In short, allowance was made for the possibility that generalized attitudes toward the other language group are simply unimportant to participants either before or after the exchange.

Support for this approach was available in the responses of the exchange participants to a questionnaire administered by the Bilingual Exchange Secretariat in 1977. One question asked, "What did you learn about French Canadian/English Canadian people during the Exchange

(culture, customs, family, habits, etc.)?" Responses focussed primarily on differences in "eating habits," or involved positive comments on "warmth" and "hospitality." Respondents clearly interpreted the question as a question about their host families and the answers had little resemblance to items included in ethnocentrism scales. The responses were very specific and most did not contain positive or negative evaluative terms. In short, the responses to this 1977 questionnaire seemed to lack any concern with the largely political and apparently primarily adult concern with the relations between English and French Canada.

III.2. Selecting Attitude Instruments

Despite, and indeed in part because of, the fact that we view as problematic the kinds of response elicited by both the fixed-response and open-ended written questions which seek language-group generalizations, we deemed it important to include items of this type in this evaluation. Our objective in doing so was to allow comparison of responses on these structured items with the more informally elicited spontaneous reactions obtained using other techniques. We were thus interested in assessing the extent to which the attitudes elicited by these structured items are salient to participants and reflect the meaning of the exchange experience to them.

Information on attitudinal outcomes was obtained in three ways. We first administered an Opinion Questionnaire adapted from the attitude-motivation questionnaire developed in a study by Gardner et al., 1974. The questionnaire has been extensively used in studies of bilingual exchanges, excursions, and cultural exchanges. It consists of 28 statements, on each of which the respondent is asked to take a position by choosing one of five responses, ranging from "very much agree" to "very much disagree". The 28 statements form four scales: 1. Integrative Motivation (4 items), 2. Instrumental Motivation (4 items), 3. Attitude toward the other Cultural Group (10 items), and 4. Attitude toward the Second Language (10 items). This questionnaire was given to six groups of 22 students on the first day of the exchange and to six other groups on the last; all twelve groups were chosen at random. We report below only on "Attitude toward the other cultural group" (scale 3).

Our second instrument was a General Questionnaire in three parts: biographical data, evaluation of the exchange in terms of both enjoyment and improvement in language competence, and open-ended questions on the student's attitude toward the other language group before and after the exchange. This questionnaire was given to seven groups, five of which participated in the Language Proficiency Interviews, a total of 154 students.

Finally, we conducted post-exchange General Interviews with a representative sample of 16 students from the above groups. While our

primary interest in doing so was to pilot an interview technique for more extensive use in the second stage of this research project, the results of these interviews are reported below, and are compared with the information derived from the two questionnaires.

III.3. Opinion Questionnaire: Attitudinal Scale (10 items)

The attitudes toward the other cultural group were assessed using a scale consisting of 10 positively phrased items. Each item is a statement about the other cultural group, and the respondents were asked to indicate the degree of agreement or disagreement on a rating scale ranging from 1, indicating "very much agree", to 5, indicating "very much disagree". The total score for the ten items thus ranged from 10 (most agreement) to 50 (least agreement).

There was no significant difference between the mean scores obtained before and after the exchange, 21 and 20 respectively. The scores before the exchange ranged from 10 to 37, and after the exchange from 10 to 33. Both before and after the exchange, 80% of the students answered "don't know" or "moderately agree". The lack of change over time, as well as the neutral or favourable responses, suggested that there was little to be learned from this instrument.

III.4. General Questionnaire: Three Open-Ended Questions

The three open-ended questions reported on here were: "Please give in two or three sentences, an honest answer to the following questions.

(1) What did you think of French speaking Canadians before the Exchange?
Que pensais-tu des Anglophones avant le programme d'échange?

(2) What do you think of French speaking Canadians now?
Qu'en penses-tu maintenant?

(3) In what way did the Exchange contribute to any change in the views you hold?
Le programme d'échange t'a-t-il aidé---et de quelle façon---à changer les idées que tu avais au sujet des Anglophones?

A wide range of responses was made to these questions. Some students responded with unambiguously positive or negative statements. Some offered replies which were simply neutral while others included both positive and negative evaluations in a single sentence, creating a description which on balance was neutral. Comments also involved qualified generalizations.

To analyse these comments, responses to the first two questions were classified as positive, negative, or neutral toward the other

language group. The third question was used to clarify the first two responses; sometimes it helped make clear what was meant. In other cases, it added additional descriptive adjectives.

It is important to note that the neutral category contains a wide variety of responses. They include:

(i) comments of a "no opinion" type, a frequent response to the first question (pre-exchange attitude):

Je n'en pensais rien car je ne les connaissais pas.
Je n'avais pas réellement une idée d'eux.

(ii) comments which refer to vaguely specified similarities or differences:

I thought their culture was much the same as ours.
I thought of them as culturally and linguistically different Canadians.

(iii) comments about language:

C'est du monde comme nous sauf qu'ils parlent anglais.
Rien de spécial, ils parlaient anglais.

In essence the neutral coding is a residual category; it includes all intelligible comments which were not unambiguously positive or negative.

The results of this analysis are summarized in Figures 3A and B below. Fifty per cent of the 154 students reported that they held

[INSERT FIGURES 3A AND B ABOUT HERE]

neutral views both before and after the exchange. The major movement between categories over the exchange was a shift away from negative views. Eighteen per cent of the students reported moving from a negative to either a neutral or a positive view. An additional 14% of the students reported moving from a neutral to a positive view of the other language group.

Only a small number of students moved away from positive views: four per cent of the 154 students reported holding positive views before the exchange but negative views afterwards (Figure 3A). Only two students moved from positive to neutral, and only three from neutral to negative.

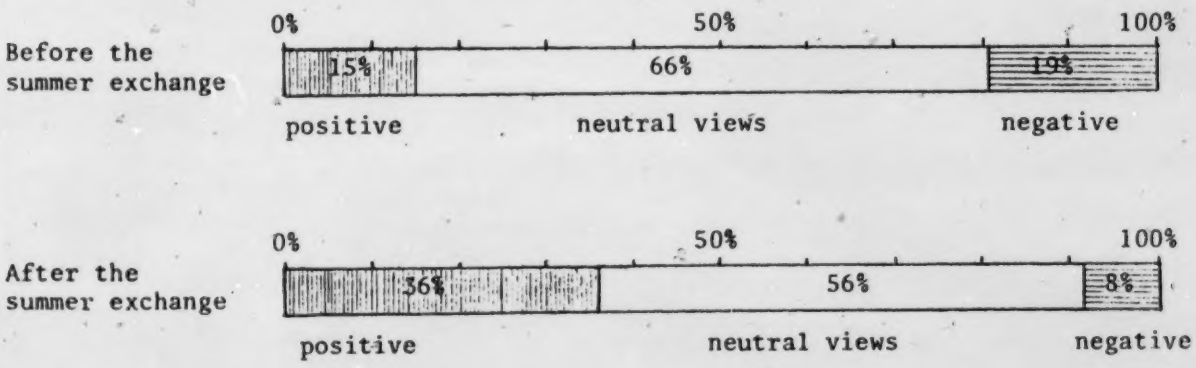
In summary, the results of the General Questionnaire would indicate that the exchange has not shaped an evaluative attitude toward the other

Figure 3A: Distribution of Views on the Other Language Group Before and After the Exchange

Views after the summer exchange	Views before the summer exchange: negative	neutral	positive
positive	13%	14%	9%
neutral	4%	50%	2%
negative	2%	2%	4%

Based on 154 responses to three open-ended questions on the General Questionnaire.

Figure 3B: Percentage of Students Reporting Negative, Neutral and Positive Views on the Other Language Group before and after the Exchange.



Based on 154 responses to three open-ended questions on the General Questionnaire.

language group for 50% of the participants, since they held neutral views throughout. For the 39% who did report an attitude change, the movement was much more frequently toward a positive view. Many of the changes, however, involved a shift toward or away from neutral; it is hard to judge these changes as either positive or negative. (For example, can someone who moves from a positive to a neutral view be said to be more negative? Such a change might more plausibly be seen as representing increased sophistication.)

There are no important differences on this questionnaire between francophone and anglophone participants.

It is important to note that shifts in attitude occurred that were not recorded as a move from one category to another. Ninety-nine of the 154 respondents reported having held different attitudes before and after the exchange, but only 51 of these could be said to have moved to a different category. For example, of the 64 students who reported holding neutral views both before and after the exchange, 41 (64%) recorded a different comment for their post-exchange view than they gave for their pre-exchange view. Many of these comments could be interpreted as showing increased "understanding" of the other language group. The participants seem to have been wiser and more sophisticated about the other language group after the event.

III.5. General Interviews

Sixteen one-to-one interviews as well as one group discussion were conducted in the students' first language to collect information on language learning, attitudes, and the exchange process. All of these general interviews were conducted toward the end of the exchanges and thus sought after-the-event reconstructions.

Responses to attempts to elicit attitudes toward the other language group are remarkably consistent with the results of the two questionnaire instruments described above. Indeed, the interviews provided considerable insight into how and why students responded as they did to written questions.

Because they provide in-depth detail, the analysis of the interviews can only be discursive. The procedure adopted here is to quote examples of relevant sections of interviews, and then to attempt to interpret these. Only sections of interviews which were oriented to eliciting other-language-group attitudes are described below. The context is identified by quoting the interviewer's questions or by a brief description. An interpretive comment precedes each interview transcript.

In general the questions used to elicit attitudes are oblique. That is, they could be interpreted as asking for a generalization or they could be interpreted with reference to the exchange, or the locale.

Thus the way the respondent chose to interpret the question becomes a focus of analysis. In most interviews, if the respondent chose not to view the question as a request for a generalization about the language group, a more specific follow-up question was then asked.

Students tended to respond to interview questions which might have been interpreted as requests for language-group generalizations with very specific or limited responses. The generalizations were offered with respect to participants in the exchange or host families, or were qualified in other ways. Positive-negative evaluative terms were, for the most part, absent.

The following interview illustrates, first, the neutrality of responses (a comment on religious differences), second, the relating of the question to exchange participants and, third, the propensity to qualify the scope of the generalizations (Quebec City vs. Ottawa).

Student: *Like the family members are a lot more religious than I am, than all the Quebec families were and ...*

In response to a request for generalization about the people of Quebec, the following comment was offered:

> *I think they are a lot more close, like when they meet each other they'll hug and kiss, you know, I think they're all close. And it didn't used to be that way, you just sort of say hi! But now when I see one of the people on the exchange I'll hug them and, like, we're all really close. I think that's pretty good. I know if you did it in Ottawa, people would think you were really strange. So, I think that's good and I wish it were that way in Ottawa. I guess the differences between Quebec and Ottawa, that's one of them but to be more close. They're religious, they eat more and people are pretty much the same I think.*

In the following exchange an identifiably positive comment is made in response to a question about Quebec; but the student chooses Montreal as a point of comparison with Quebec City. Thus, rather than eliciting a language-group generalization, the question leads to an intra-group comparison.

Interviewer: *About Quebec in general, have you learned anything, not only the city of Quebec?*

Student: *Yeah, well you're friendly here, like more friendly than they are in Montreal. And they try to help you here.*

Interviewer: *You mean more friendly than your family? Or the people in Ottawa?*

Student: *Oh they've got a different lifestyle, like here your parents allow you to smoke and go to bars and that. In Ottawa, it's like restricted and your parents don't like you to smoke and that. I don't know, sometimes I don't think they don't really care about their health and that, they just have a good time. Things like that.*

After a further probe, the interviewee did come up with a response resembling a more conventional stereotype. This was not, however, the interviewee's first interpretation of how to respond, and is arrived at only when the interviewer repeats the question slightly differently, implying to the interviewee that a different response is required.

Interviewer: *Did you have anything in mind before the exchange ...?*

Student: *... Last year ... I thought well the French people are going to be really different, and not be the same or not as nice or something. As soon as I came, you know, I found out that they're really nice.*

In the following more elaborate interview the responses are very similar. A question about Quebec is interpreted to mean Quebec City and it is contrasted with Ottawa in terms that have no obvious positive-negative component. An explicit request for a comment on "people" is responded to in a very sensible, qualified way; "good" and "bad" people are found everywhere. Interview questions about "understanding" are interpreted to mean "understanding language". Finally, when the interviewer does elicit a positive generalization about French Canadians ("very hospitable people") a qualification is also elicited ("More (hospitable) than <u>some</u> people in Ottawa"). In the concluding section, the interviewee demonstrates her resistance to making sweeping generalizations.

Student: *Everything at the house was very much the same as at my house. I was expecting quite a difference in food and there just wasn't anything.*

Interviewer: *So what did you learn about Quebec?*

Student: *Their driving is different. It's a really nice city, it's very pretty. It's very different from Ottawa in that respect and the way they walk all over the streets.*

Interviewer: *How about Quebec as a province and the people?*

Student: *I think the people are quite a bit the same as other people. I didn't find too much difference there. You find bad people everywhere and good people everywhere.*

Interviewer: *So is there anything about French Canadians that you*

maybe changed your mind on during the exchange?

Student: *No. They're the same as everybody else, I think.*

Interviewer: *Do you think it does promote understanding between the groups? Do you think that you who have participated in the exchange understand the feelings of the Quebecois better than your friends who have not participated in Ottawa?*

Student: *Well, just yesterday they had instructions in English and they got me to translate for them because they didn't understand them. It's very frustrating for them to have things in English they don't understand. Some of my friends wouldn't understand that because they haven't been here. They don't realize how much English there is around that the French can't understand. I think I have a better feeling for how they live because I have lived with them for two weeks.*

Interviewer: *And what you saw you liked?*

Student: *I liked it. I thought it was really good. They are very hospitable people.*

Interviewer: *More than the people in Ottawa?*

Student: *Some people in Ottawa I should say.*

Interviewer: *More than some or more than most?*

Student: *Well, we were very hospitable to my twin. We tried very hard. But they hate to see you do things. Because they don't like you to make your bed and they don't like you to help, they don't do it at your house.*

One other response that emerges in interviews involves third-person acknowledgements of stereotypes. The interviewee senses that the questioning is intended to elicit stereotypes, but talks about them as the attitudes other people hold. The illustration below also contains a comparison (house types) which may reflect the different socio-economic backgrounds of the groups.

Student: *There wasn't anything really different in my twin's home except that she was French and everybody was French.*

In a long and spontaneously offered passage the student notes that in the previous year she had come expecting to be the recipient of hostility because she was *the enemy* and implies that this was not what she found *I was*

really glad because everybody has an image of Quebec. They're all separatists. I haven't found very many. (A similar comment is repeated later.)

The differences. Well I noticed that just about everybody in Ottawa, all my friends, they have houses, but here it's all what they call Italian blocks where it's four you know. That's the only thing that I've noticed.

Interviewer: *Do you feel closer to Francophones now than you felt before?*

Student: *This year I have been closer to them than I was last year. There's not much difference except language.*

Interviewer: *And if you compare yourself with kids from Ottawa who have not gone on exchanges, do you think they understand Quebec as well as you do?*

Student: *No. I think it's your parents who influence you. My parents are pretty open because we have friends come from Quebec before. Where we go camping there are a lot of French people and my father is in the Government, he had to go to a course and everything, and I know there's a lot of my friends' parents who complain they had to go on courses and they always complain "Those terrible French people, those terrible Frogs" but I have never felt like that, I don't think I ever will. And I think a lot of it is due to your parents and your parents' friends. Yes, I think it's a lot of your parents because I've noticed that in my friends. Their parents think "Terrible French people" and they think that way.*

Many of the francophone students interviewed were juniors, who unfortunately tend to talk less; for this reason less information is available on the francophones. The interviews conducted, however, do not suggest that francophone participants in the exchange hold strong views about the other language group. In the following interview the respondent is unable to articulate a response.

Interviewer: *Qu'est-ce que tu as appris au sujet des Ontariens? C'est la première fois que tu fais l'échange?*

Student: *Bien, on dirait qu'on a pas le même genre de style de vie: Je ne sais pas trop ... La nourriture, c'est un peu pareil mais c'est pas pareil. Non ... mais je sais pas trop comment ... trop le dire mais on voit qu'il y a des différences.*

Interviewer: *Est-ce qu'il y a des différences dans la mentalité ou*

dans le style de vie?

Student: *Je pense. Oui.*

Interviewer: *Quelles différences?*

Student: *Je pourrais pas trop trop le dire ... mais je pourrais pas dire la différence; mais y a pas de goût, il me semble qu'on n'est pas pareil.*

Interviewer: *Mais il y a des différences quand même?*

Student: *Oui, mais je peux dire quelles.*

A discussion we conducted (in addition to the one-to-one interviews) with a group of French-speaking seniors showed marked similarities with the specific and qualified views of the anglophones.[3] General questions are answered with citations of specific impressions of eating habits, social behaviour, and the like. These impressions lack an identifiable positive/negative component.

Interviewer: *L'échange, c'est quoi que ça donne, c'est quoi que ça rapporte, si ça vaut la peine? Commençons par une question générale. Est-ce qu'il y a des différences entre vous et les Ontariens? ...*

Student 1: *Oui, il y a une grosse différence de mentalité. Ils n'ont pas les mêmes habitudes que nous-autres. On mange pas de la meme manière; puis ils se comportent pas pareil ...*

Interviewer: *Est-ce que toi tu t'es senti bien, même si tu as trouvé que tu étais différent? Est-ce que tu t'es senti bien là-bas?*

Student 2: *Moi je trouve que c'est correct. Ça dépend des gens où tu restes et comme ici à Québec il y a des gens qui sont sorteux et d'autres qui sont pas sorteux, c'est pas mal pareil, ... Ils sont pareils; ils parlent pas pareil, mais je sais que c'est pareil.*

Interviewer: *Tu dis que c'est des gens comme nous-autres tout simplement.*

Student 2: *Oui.*

Student 3: *Oui, il y a seulement les gens qui aiment sortir et d'autres qui aiment pas sortir. Comme les Français, les Anglais aiment et d'autres aiment moins sortir.*

Student 4: *J'ai trouvé une grande différence ... eux-autres, c'est*

du monde qui aime prendre leur temps pour manger, t'sais. Les gens où j'étais, mangeaient en tout temps. Ils m'ont dit qu'on leur a dit que les Québecois mangeaient beaucoup, alors c'est quand j'étais là ... c'est écoeurant ... on mangeait quatre repas par jour ...

Interviewer: *T'aurais pas l'impression qu'ils ont fait ça spécialement du fait que tu étais là?*

Student 4: *Oui, c'est ce qu'ils m'ont dit.*

Attempts by the interviewer to elicit generalizations, and to divert the discussion from day-to-day routine to "mentality" and "understanding" were often unsuccessful, as the following exchange illustrates.

Interviewer: *O.K. c'est-à-dire jusqu'à maintenant vous m'avez donné beaucoup de détails que vous avez vus différents par rapport aux habitudes que vous avez ici ... Mais je pense au niveau de la mentalité comme telle, ça demeure pas facile pour moi de saisir ça. C'est quoi les différences que vous avez trouvées? Est-ce que vous vous êtes sentis bien vous-autres, tout de même, pendant l'échange en Ontario? C'est-à-dire, est-ce que vous vous êtes sentis à l'aise, bien reçus, bien accueillis? Est-ce que vous avez trouvé ces gens-là .... je ne sais pas trop ... sympathiques?*

Student 5: *Moi j'étais très bien accueillie ...*

Here follows a long description of details: food, manners, etc. ...

Student 6: *Moi, j'ai trouvé que si mon "twin" était au Québec, il serait mon ami comme mes autres amis ... Si jamais je retourne dans ce coin-là, je vais aller rester chez eux. J'ai été bien accueilli encore.*

Student 7: *Moi, j'ai été très bien accueilli ... Tu ressens quelque chose quand t'es là-bas. Tu es chez-vous, puis tu es dans un nouveau milieu; ça parle pas la même langue. On dirait que tu es dans un autre monde là. Les deux-trois premiers jours, puis après ça, ça va bien, c'est le fun! ... Moi, je trouve que ça vaut la peine.*

In the following, the interviewer does succeed in redirecting the discussion, and in encouraging the students to express their views of the English-speaking students and of the importance of their encounter with them.

Interviewer: *Est-ce que vous-autres, ça vous a permis de saisir que*

c'est important aussi ... ou saisir ... je ne sais pas trop ... de changer peut-être votre opinion par rapport à la mentalité ou à la nation anglaise au Canada; voir si c'est intéressant d'être avec eux-autres ou que c'est pas intéressant ... je ne sais pas trop?

Student 8: *Oui, mais il y en a qui jugent les Anglais vite. Une opinion générale de la plupart du monde qui ont jamais eu de rencontres tête-à-tête avec des Anglais. Mais moi je trouve que c'est juste du monde comme nous-autres ... une mentalité différente ... Il a autant besoin de nous-autres qu'on a besoin d'eux-autres, au point de vue politique, puis à tous les points de vue.*

Interviewer: *O.K.*

Student 9: *Je pense que ceux qui sont pour la séparation ont jamais été en dehors du Québec, ... puis ils ont jamais été voir en l'Ontario, dans d'autres provinces anglaises ... Moi, comme ça j'ai fait des échanges et j'ai vu que les Anglais me considéraient comme du monde et pensaient que le Québec, c'était important.*

The above group discussion shows that some students are aware of the existence of general judgments about anglophones, but that they believed that the tendency to make such judgments is encouraged by lack of contact. In a one-to-one interview, it might have been possible to pursue this subject further.

The following is an interesting example of an unpleasant encounter which the student seems to have taken in her stride.

Student 10: *Moi, où j'étais reçue, sa mère puis sa famille, ils m'ont bien accueillie, excepté son père ... il parlait presque pas parce qu'il n'aime pas les Québecois. Il a déjà eu des problèmes avec ... Puis il n'aime pas les Québécois, alors il parlait presque pas.*

Interviewer: *Est-ce ... je ne sais pas trop ... au cours des deux semaines tu as senti qu'il te parlait plus?*

Student 10: *A la fin là il n'était pas si pire. Il commençait à me parler puis je lui ai dit que les Québécois, c'était du monde comme eux-autres. Puis je me demande pourquoi qu'il viendrait pas faire un tour à Québec pour voir que c'est la même chose. Il m'a dit: "Bien je vais peut-être essayer," mais j'sais pas si ça va le changer!*

The results of interviews with both French and English speaking participants suggest that the students are sophisticated about general-

izing to the other language group. They do not voice such generalizations unless pushed to do so.

The tendency to comment on the specific experiences of the exchange is marked, as it was in the responses to the questionnaire administered by the Bilingual Exchange Secretariat in 1977. Where generalizations are made they may be "brought back" to the experiences of the exchange, or offered in a very qualified way (e.g. to refer to Ottawa as a point of contrast). There is some recounting of the exchange as contributing to the destruction of previously-held general views, but these previously-held views are not well spelled out. The impression from the interactions between interviewer and the students is that in most cases the interviewer has to "work hard" (probe, repeat the question in a slightly different form) to elicit any generalizations about language groups. This contrasts with the ease with which other topics, such as language, are dealt with in these same interviews. Though the transcripts of interviews which have followed these sixteen pilot interviews have yet to be analysed, it is our impression from conducting these interviews that their content is essentially similar to that elicited in the pilots.

III.6. Attitude Outcomes: Summary

The information presented above tends to support the view that generalized attitudes to the other language group have little salience for exchange participants. The ethnocentrism measures of the Opinion Questionnaire do not show strongly-held opinions, either before or after the exchange. The open-ended questions from the General Questionnaire are more difficult to interpret; the responses are extremely varied and not easily classified. In general, however, the pattern of response is similar to that of the fixed-response Opinion Questionnaire and the General Interviews.

It seems reasonable to conclude from the data available at this stage that generalized positive/negative attitudes toward the other language group are not of great significance to exchange participants. Half of the responses are neutral, and the weak character of many of the positive/negative responses suggests a casual response to a question we initiated, rather than a strongly-held belief independent of the question. With these qualifications, the exchanges did appear to have a positive effect on the attitudes of a minority of students.

A review of our tape-recordings and transcripts strengthens the conclusion that generalized positive/negative attitudes are unimportant to participants. The more subtle information yielded by interviews suggests that students did not respond to non-specific stimuli with stereotypes, and that they were reluctant to do so. When asked specific questions they made sensibly qualified answers, limiting the generalizations, for example, to their host families, or to people in the locale they visited. Indeed, explicit and repeated probe questions were often

required to elicit any generalizations about the other language group.

While the number of interviews conducted to date is small (the main interest was to pilot the technique), the interviews provide good demonstrations of why inter-language-group attitudes do not emerge strongly on questionnaire instruments. In interviews, the participants sensibly and in some areas stubbornly resisted replying in terms of stereotyped attitudes. Given this, real questions must be raised about the usefulness of using fixed-response ethnocentrism measures to evaluate attitude change around exchanges. In our pilot studies a number of students showed resentment when asked to complete such questionnaires. These are not the ways in which the students themselves react to the exchanges, and they see the agree/disagree items as a set of "forced choices" which do not reflect their real views. We suspect that what students do when confronted with these choices is simply to avoid the positions with which they most disagree -- the negative items. This leaves them with positive and neutral responses neither of which adequately express their views. To us the ethnocentrism measures appear as both historically and culturally outmoded. Developed by American sociologists in a period when overt racial prejudice was much more prevalent, they seem to have little connection with relations between French and English Canadians in the 1970's.

At the same time, while we are critical of these approaches to attitude change occurring on exchanges, it is important to note that there are no obvious research alternatives. It is our subjective view that the exchanges do serve to promote "understanding." They create a very positive contact between the groups of students in a success-oriented environment where language benefits occur that participants themselves are the first to recognize. To evaluate the extent and depth of this understanding is simply beyond what is methodologically feasible. To conclude, however, that there is no attitude change on the basis of an unsatisfactory methodology, as some studies have, is simply to miss the point.

IV CONCLUSIONS

It is important to note some qualifications on the comments we have made above concerning language learning. Our findings are consistent with other findings on "immersion." Remarkable gains occur in situations where students must function in the second language. Like other immersion settings, however, exchanges draw a peculiar group of participants. They select themselves, are highly motivated to learn language, and as our own profile of participants demonstrates are primarily from white collar, particularly professional and managerial backgrounds. (See Figure 4 and Table 1.)

Ontario _____

Quebec - - - - - -

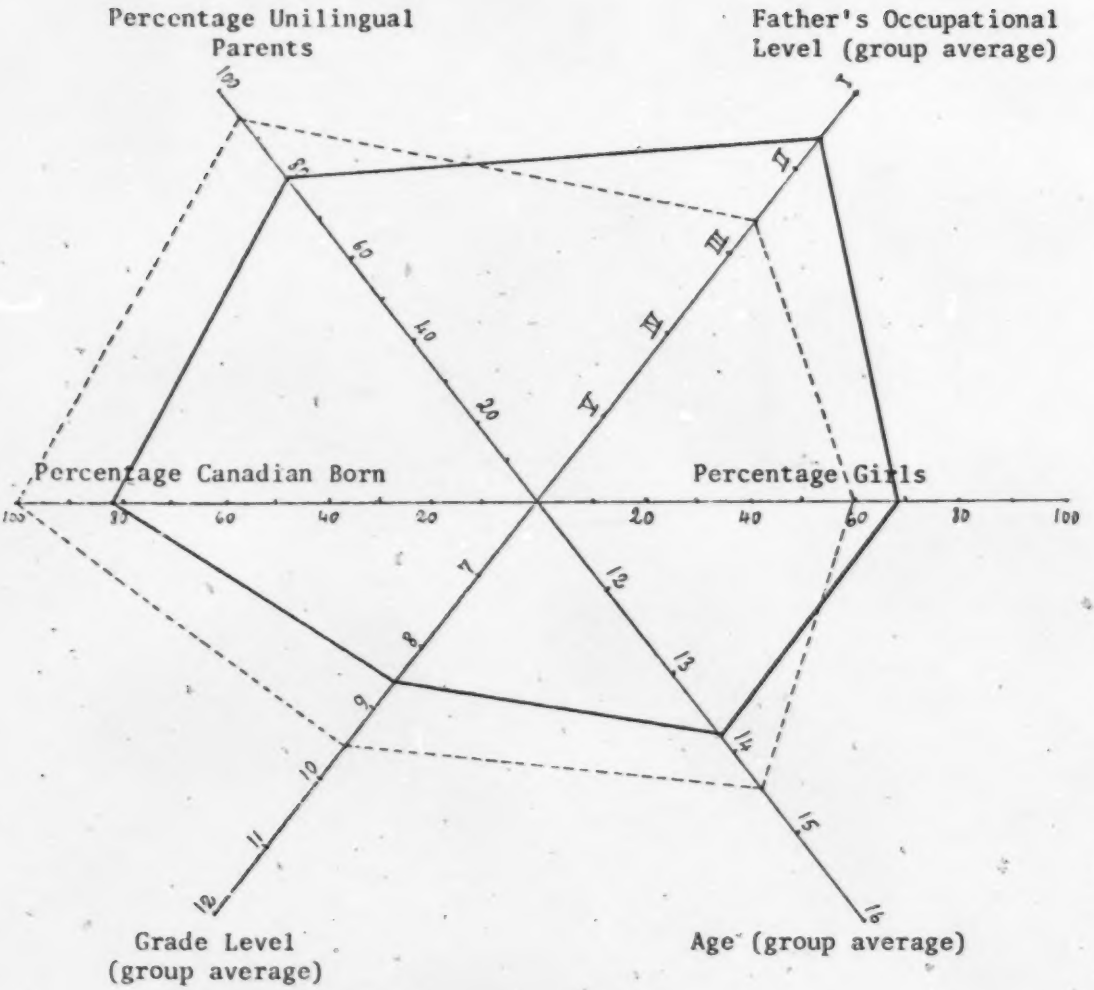


Figure 4 . Profile of summer exchange participants (based on a random sample of 100 students from each province). Ontario sent a higher percentage of girls, for example, while a higher percentage of Quebec parents were unilingual.

Table 1: Percentage Distribution of Participants by Father's Occupation *
(Estimated Percentage of each Group)

Socio-economic category	Level	Ontario	Quebec
01 Self-employed professionals 02 Employed professionals 03 High-level management	I	47	20
04 Semi-professionals 05 Technicians 06 Middle management 07 Supervisors 08 Foremen	II	31	38
09 Skilled clerical-sales-service 10 Skilled craft and trades 12 Semi-skilled clerical-sales-service 13 Semi-skilled manual	III	13	27
14 Unskilled clerical-sales-service 15 Unskilled manual 16 Farm labourers	IV	1	12
18 Retired 19 Unemployed	V	—	3
11 Farmers		8	—
		100% N = 92	100% N = 85

* Based on a random sample

(Total number of participants: Ontario 616, Quebec 616)

To what extent a different population might benefit is unclear. In short, while the language benefits of existing exchanges can be demonstrated, it is not necessarily the case that every student of a second language would benefit from a language exchange.

Within our own study it is clear that some students benefit more than others. Subsequent interviewing of students who were given the Language Proficiency Interview (work in process and not reported above) has pointed up the variability of experiences within the exchange. A majority of participants clearly thrived. A few, however, were shy and their shyness acted as a brake on second-language involvement. Others were twinned with students much more fluent in their second language and one language came to dominate the whole four weeks. Occasionally twins did not get along. Finally, a small number of students appeared to have had little initial enthusiasm and seemed to have participated more by happenstance than for reasons of interest.

An important focus of the research now in progress is the attempt to unravel how the exchanges work. Again the methodology involves a variety of techniques, with a strong emphasis on intensive approaches -- interviews and direct observation. Hopefully this research will yield insights into why some students benefit greatly while others learn less. Such information is crucial before the more general second-language value of exchanges can be assessed.

This then is the situation with language outcomes. With attitudinal outcomes evaluation seems much more problematic. In seeking a unidimensional, positive-negative way of portraying potential attitudinal effects, there is a real risk of achieving not simplicity, but simple-mindedness. Yet the alternatives to this approach are not obvious. The terms in which the relevant questions about the exchange might most usefully be asked are themselves subtle. "Does the exchange promote 'understanding' between the groups?" "Do these post-exchange views show more sensitivity?" To provide operational definitions of the terms in these questions is to enter a difficult area. First, there are thorny methodological issues to confront. How, for example, is "understanding" to be measured as an interval scale from a series of categorical questions? Second, there are the essentially political issues which must be dealt with and about which people presently disagree. What is an "improved understanding" of French or English Canadians or of relationships between the two groups?

Footnotes

[1] We are grateful to Barry Lydon, Kathleen McGrath, Denis Pinet, and Vincent Saulnier from New Brunswick, who not only conducted the oral proficiency interviews, but also assisted us with the rather difficult task of organising this crucial part of our evaluation. Our conversations with them gave us new insights into various aspects of testing, insights which were most helpful in framing this report.

[2] David Thomas "When worlds collide" MacLean's, June 1978. p. 41.

Michele Landsberg "Students' $800,000 Canadian tour is unity 'bargain'. Toronto Star, August 14, 1978.

Malcolm Johnson "Quebecker finds no 'dumb square heads' in Metro", Toronto Star, July 12, 1978.

"Toronto 'great' Quebec student says" Toronto Star, August 15, 1978.

[3] We are grateful to Claude Giroux who conducted this group discussion.

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